HARVEY MATUSOW'S 'FALSE WITNESS' REVIEWED BY CEDRIC BELFRAGE . . . p. 3

Cummings in the London Daily Express

. . . and he'll get you if you don't watch out

The Chiang-Dulles Axis expects every American to do his duty defending Hollywood Boulevard by keeping China out of its own off-shore islands 6,500 miles away. But not one of Washington's major allies will raise a finger for Chiang. Among Dulles' Asian "allies," S. Vietnam is torn by inter-gangster civil war; Japan wants to recognize China and refuses to raise its arms spending because its people need houses; Formosa itself is torn by fatal inner weakness. Yet two days after Dulles' report on his Asia trip, headlines blazoned warnings from U.S. military leaders in Tokyo that "a general war in Asia may be only weeks away . . . [and] would involve use of atomic weapons." It's your move, citizen.

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WAR & PEACE

Behind Bevan's ouster: The Battle of Britain is joined on the Bomb

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian special correspondent

LONDON

IN 1939, on the eve of World War II, the Labour Party expelled Aneurin Bevan together with the late Sir Stafford Cripps and George Strauss (who became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Supply Minister in the post-war Labour government) for advocating a united front of the Left against appeasement of fascism. Now he has been expelled from the Parliamentary Labour Party in a new Labour crisis with world implications. The expulsion vote—which leaves Bevan a party member outside Parliament but an "independent" MP—was 141 to 112.

The story of the party split which reaches a climax with Bevan's second disciplining begins early in 1946 when Churchill, in his Fulton (Mo.) speech, lined up Britain behind the U.S. in the cold-war division of the world. Labour was then in power, and left-wing Labour MP's at once tabled a resolution repudiating Churchill. They waited for their leader, Attlee, and Foreign Secy. Ernest Bevin to join in—but not a word came; they accepted the cold-war coalition with the Tories. From that policy sprang Britain's subservience to Washington in foreign affairs, abandonment in Germany of the anti-fascist peace which Attlee pledged at Potsdam, and the ever-growing burden of arms spending which crushed Labour's policy of social change.

THE STEAMROLLER: In the House of Commons and at Labour Party conferences, the left wing fought for a change of policy; but Bevin, backed by the trade union block votes and his tremendous prestige as the wartime leader of Britain's industrial effort, always crushed them. Three rebels who stood for friendship with the Soviet Union and independence from the U.S.—Konni Zilliacus, Leslie Solley and John Platts-Mills—were expelled from the party.

For a time the rank and file looked for help to leaders of earlier struggles who had a progressive reputation—Emanuel Shinwell, James Griffiths and John Strachey among them. But Attlee, one of the shrewdest of politicians, transferred Shinwell from the Fuel to the Defense Ministry, thus forcing him either to accept the rearmament program or quit the government. He sent Griffiths from the Social Insurance to the Colonial Ministry, thus forcing him to accept the war against the Malayan liberation movement or resign. He sent Strachey, whose pre-war books on international affairs

(Continued on Page 6)

CLINTON JENCKS DENIED NEW TEXAS TRIAL

Matusow tells truth; faces jail for 'lies'

By Elmer Bendiner

HARVEY MATUSOW last week faced a possible five-year jail sentence, not for lying, but for confessing that he lied; for "obstructing justice" by bringing about a hearing for a new trial for Clinton Jencks, official of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union.

Largely on Matusow's testimony Jencks had been convicted in 1954 of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley affdavit, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. When Matusow branded his own testimony in that case as a lie, Jencks' attorneys pressed for a new trial before U.S. District Court Judge R. E. Thomason in El Paso, Texas.

"A STINKING SCHEME": Throughout the hearing Matusow remained unshaken in insisting that his original testimony was a deliberate frame-up. Former governor of New Mexico A. T. Hannett, one of Jencks' attorneys, called Matusow "a combination of Ananias and Judas" and added:

"However, the Dept. of Justice brought Matusow in and vouched for his veracity. The government must have known he would sell his soul for a buck."

David Harris, special asst. to the U.S. Atty. General, offered nothing to show that Matusow told the truth in the original Jencks trial but called his recanting "a stinking, nefarious scheme to defraud this court."

When government attorneys asked Matusow why he had not gone directly to the Justice Dept. when he decided to recant, Matusow said his life "would be in danger" from the government:

"I believed then and I believe now that the Justice Dept. is corrupt and I don't trust it."

TEXAS LAW: On Saturday, March 12 Judge Thomason abruptly closed the hearings and ruled that Jencks' original conviction would stand. (Jencks attorneys promptly moved to appeal for a new trial before a higher court.) Then the judge called Matusow to the bench and told him:

"By recanting your former testimony given in this court, which I believe in substance was true, you have, in my opinion, deliberately, designedly and maliciously attempted to obstruct the justice of this court

(Continued on Page 4)

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Welcome Hallinan!

Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, was scheduled to leave McNeill's Island Penitentiary Mar. 20, after serving more than a year for alleged income tax violations. During his 1952 campaign he was imprisoned for four months on contempt charges growing out of his unrelenting defense of labor leader Harry Bridges in the fourth government attempt to jail and deport him. Hallinan merits the good wishes of every GUARDIAN reader. We urge you to write or wire your greeting today to his home—266 Ewing Terrace, San Francisco. And see p. 11 for the big news on the man every progressive welcomes back to fighting for freedom.

THE MAIL BAG

Churchill's question

BLOOMFIELD, CONN.

Prime Minister Churchill asks: "Which way shall we turn to save our lives?" Well, the answer is plain, and can be seen by any adult gifted with ordinary common sense. Destroy all those atom and hydrogen bombs, and do away with war. That is the answer, the only answer, for there is no defense from those bombs.

But you ask, "How can that be done?" And the answer to that is just as plain and simple. Take away the profit and the exorbitant salaries of all those in the furnishing, manufacturing, or selling of all weapons of war, and take out of circulation any and all persons who are now calling for war, and all those who attempt to glorify the men who plan and the men who actually carry out the mass murder of men, women, children and unborn babes. **Fred M. Mansur**

Zhukov put off?

CHICAGO, ILL.

Of course Ike won't ask Zhukov over now. He might accept the invitation and the possibility of victory for us peace mongers must not be permitted, you know.

Dr. Ralph R. Sackley

Hope for striped pants

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

If Chinese "brain-washing" (whatever that means) can transform spies and tools of the CIO (Allen Dulles' gangster outfit) into honest and peace-loving people, don't you think there is still hope some of the personnel of the State Dept. can become human?

Then again there is this problem: Suppose "brain-washing" is everything it is cracked up to be, so who has the brains? After all, one must have some brains in order to be affected by this "brain-wash ng" business. **J. Ginsburg**

Brain-wash carrots?

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

The State Dept. has a top secret which it is revealing to no one—it is the secret chemicals which the Chinese Communists use in their formula for "brain washing" Americans. Just think of what might happen if this got out—it could be slipped into the food of Americans and make them all turn "red." **Unwashed**

Women's rights

SAUGUS, MASS.

Ione Kramer's analysis of women's struggle for their rights (Mar. 7), while certainly correct, tends to fall into the danger of indicating that men are better off than women that women are more oppressed than men.

Marxism and socialism properly recognize that women are exploited by big capitalists and should be paid equal wages for equal work. This part of Miss Kramer's thesis is absolutely correct. We must, even under capitalism, conduct a great struggle for equal wages for all women forced into the brutal labor market of capitalism.

But why argue that we must urge women to get out of the home and into industry, where they can be exploited even more effectively than they are by the system of tying them down to caring for children in the home (something itself made necessary by capitalism's refusal to provide adequate day nurseries, etc.)

Women's rights as well as men's can only be achieved through socialism.

Hugh Weston
1st Parish Universalist Church

How crazy can you get dept.

WASHINGTON, AP — Once there was a man who invented a "vital" jet plane starting device. Then he was barred by the Navy and Air Force from working on his own invention on grounds he was a security risk.

Bernard F. Fitzsimons, security director for the Douglas Aircraft Co., told the story at a Senate hearing recently. . . . "The Navy would not permit him to visit El Segundo (one of Douglas Aircraft's California plants) to work on the starter he himself had developed and perfected," he said. And the Air Force ordered the man barred from working on the device at another plant.

Sen. Humphrey . . . suggested an inventor in that predicament could become embittered enough to turn over his information to "the Communists."

—N. Y. Herald Tribune, Mar. 15.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. This week's winner requests sub to K. S. Y. Waife, Nkawkaw, Gold Coast.

Surplus starvation

NEWARK, N. J.

Enclosed clipping from Newark Star Ledger, Mar. 1, 1955, headlined "Ten Babies Die from Malnutrition." Surplus wheat rots in government elevators and butter goes rancid in government refrigerators. But of course we must make these "small sacrifices to preserve our free world way of life," not to mention "equality," "democracy," and the "sanctity of the individual."

I feel like Abraham Lincoln must have felt when he first saw a Negro slave sold on an auction block: "Some day I'm going to hit this thing, and I'm going to hit it hard!" **A Subscriber**

"Atom Spy Hoax"

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Atom Spy Hoax is a completely documented expose of a plot to destroy democracy in the U.S.A., a plot just as diabolical as Hitler's Reichstag fire frame-up.

This book must be put into the hands of millions of people. Every progressive should buy quantities, sell, loan and give them away. Write to Action Books, Room 2800, 165 Broadway, N. Y. C. 6.

Morris Kominsky

96 and rarin' to go

FAIRBURN, SO. DAKOTA

I am now in my 96th year, but hope to enjoy the GUARDIAN and send my dollar per month for some time yet. **Bella B. Westover**

Automation and culture

CEDAR GROVE, N. J.

A state of coexistence with the socialist bloc and world trade will soften the impact of transition to peace-time production; but whenever the wheels of production turn under the wage system, surplus will pile up, as before, and lead to war again. Taking in each other's washing will never solve economic problems.

Recently a progressive leader said to us, "Our time is coming; it is rushing to meet us!" Yes, the rush is on. Automation of machinery of production has commenced taking its toll and is growing in the whole field of mass production, having one man do the work of 100, more or less. There are only two industrial countries financially able to carry the enormous cost of automation, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., with perhaps West Germany included as a U.S. colony, provided remilitarization is not prevented by German labor and youth.

I love this idea of automation. It brings with itself, from necessity, an upsurge of something badly needed—culture. So many days of true leisure cannot be filled with baseball and baseball talk, radio quiz shows, crime comics, murder and detective stories and worthless Hollywood motion pictures; people will commence bumping into themselves, wake up and wonder what else there is in life. It is the duty of an honest political party to prepare the common people for a change of this magnitude.

Kurt Langnickel

A story with starch

FLORENCE, MASS.

Addenda to the letter in the Feb. 28 issue captioned: **Truth about "foreign aid":**

My last job, before my retirement, was with the export department of a large manufacturing corporation. About four years ago the agent who sold our product in Guatemala visited our office and while there told us the following:

He said his firm had for years held the agency in Guatemala for American potato starch: that they had read in the newspapers that several shiploads of American surplus potatoes had arrived in Italy as a gift from this country to feed the starving Italians; that, about a month after the arrival of said potatoes, Guatemala was flooded with Italian potato starch; and that the Italian starch was offered at a price which simply knocked American starch off the market.

Your readers may draw their own conclusions. **Margaret A. Fellows**

Thought sclerosis

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I do not find myself often a yea-sayer, but to Nan Pendrell's Spectator critique on current political and social hokum (March 7) and, what is worse, its bedizened image reflected in our atavistic theater, I can only say Yea. Amen.

That the genius of Maxwell Anderson with two great plays and several honestly probing ones to his credit, and the artistry of a gifted cast and a superlatively skilled director, should be squandered on such a contraption as **The Bad Seed** is worse than prostitution to a potboiler. It is surrender to the creeping thought sclerosis, by those who should be rallying forces against the onslaught of anti-culture which appears to be leveling the American will.

Marcella M. Bosfwick

Ohio and Connecticut

CLARKSVILLE, OHIO

Last week my husband's attorneys, J. Paul Prear, Dayton Negro attorney, and Marshall Perlin, N. Y., filed a motion for a re-hearing before the District Court of Appeals based on the decision of the judge in the Connecticut Smith Act cases. The same situation existed here regarding the selection of jury, including the indicting jury. The trial judge ruled against the motion at the beginning of the trial, but they feel they have some ground now based upon the Connecticut decision.

Mrs. Melvin E. Bupman

Hupman, a United Electrical Workers organizer, was indicted on a charge of falsely swearing to a Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit. A first trial ended with a hung jury; a second trial brought conviction and a 5-year prison term. The only witnesses against him were paid informers. Harvey Matusow's information was used by the FBI in the case, which is being taken to the Supreme Court. Ed.

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"If postage rates are raised high enough maybe we won't get so many bills in the mail."

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"Liberty relies upon itself, invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, and knows no discouragement." —WALT WHITMAN (Preface, 1855 edition, "Leaves of Grass.")

REPORT TO READERS

How the Guardian Angels stormed Brooklyn Heights

IT'S ABOUT TIME we had a new round of NEW sub-getting by GUARDIAN readers everywhere. The time is certainly ripe—what with Brownell's troupe of professional liars hitting the sawdust trail and the scientists begging the UN to put the lid on Hell-bomb tests, lest we ALL fall out. People everywhere are surely having their eyes wide-opened, and we want to help with this process all we can.

With this in mind, we have just mailed out to a selected 16,000 subscribers in every corner of the country the materials for a new readership drive. The rest of you we will reach in due time, as results start coming in from the first round. We hope you who got our first-round letter will give us a prompt acknowledgement (postpaid materials and a most-timely inducement for that are included, too). Let's get started on the spring roundup as soon as ever possible.

To you who fear the going may be pretty rough, getting new readers for a gadfly publication like the GUARDIAN, we would like to pass on a report of something that happened last month in Brooklyn.

OPERATION HEIGHTS was initiated by Clifford T. McAvoy, well-known to all GUARDIAN readers as a leader and recent candidate for mayor of the American Labor Party in New York, and his wife Muriel Gravelle McAvoy, one-time Progressive Party chairman of New Hampshire. The McAvoys are residents of Brooklyn Heights, one of the oldest communities in America, situated on the high brow of Brooklyn overlooking New York Harbor (and still resenting, we are told, the new-rich Wall Street skyline across the bay).

Anyway, there in the stamping ground of the Society of Old Brooklynites (and within hailing distance of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's historic Plymouth Church, where the Abolition movement got great impetus), Cliff and Muriel and Helen and Earl Robinson (**Sandhog, Ballad for Americans**, et al) called a meeting of GUARDIAN readers in the neighborhood. Technically they were subscribers in Brooklyn Postal Zones 1 & 2.

A goodly 60 people turned up—the biggest progressive meeting on the Heights in many a moon. Agreeing to meet again on call, they set aside two evenings later that week for a canvass of potential new and renewable GUARDIAN readers.

On the two canvassing nights some 20 canvassers split up a list of about 100 of their neighbors; managed to reach 85 on the first round; got 26 new subs, 18 renewals, a good number more who agreed to renew or subscribe later or to think about the matter! And only 11 who said no!

LEAVES YOU BREATHLESS? Us, too. Nobody in history has ever taken Brooklyn Heights by storm before. . . . And we are now encouraged to carry our banner to Washington Heights (Manhattan) come April 1, and from salient to salient thereafter until all five boroughs of New York are similarly enthralled. Then—on to Suburbia and the Outside World!

Game to try this in your community? Just drop us a line.

—THE EDITORS

Get the team in shape for the season!

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CORRECTIONS

Spring came to the GUARDIAN with a vengeance last week, and the result was two mistakes which should be noted. The date of the ALP rally at Manhattan Center, N. Y., should have read March 21, not March 18, on p. 1. Mrs. Natvig's first name in the caption on p. 3 should have been Marie, not Mildred.

'FALSE WITNESS' — A CASE HISTORY

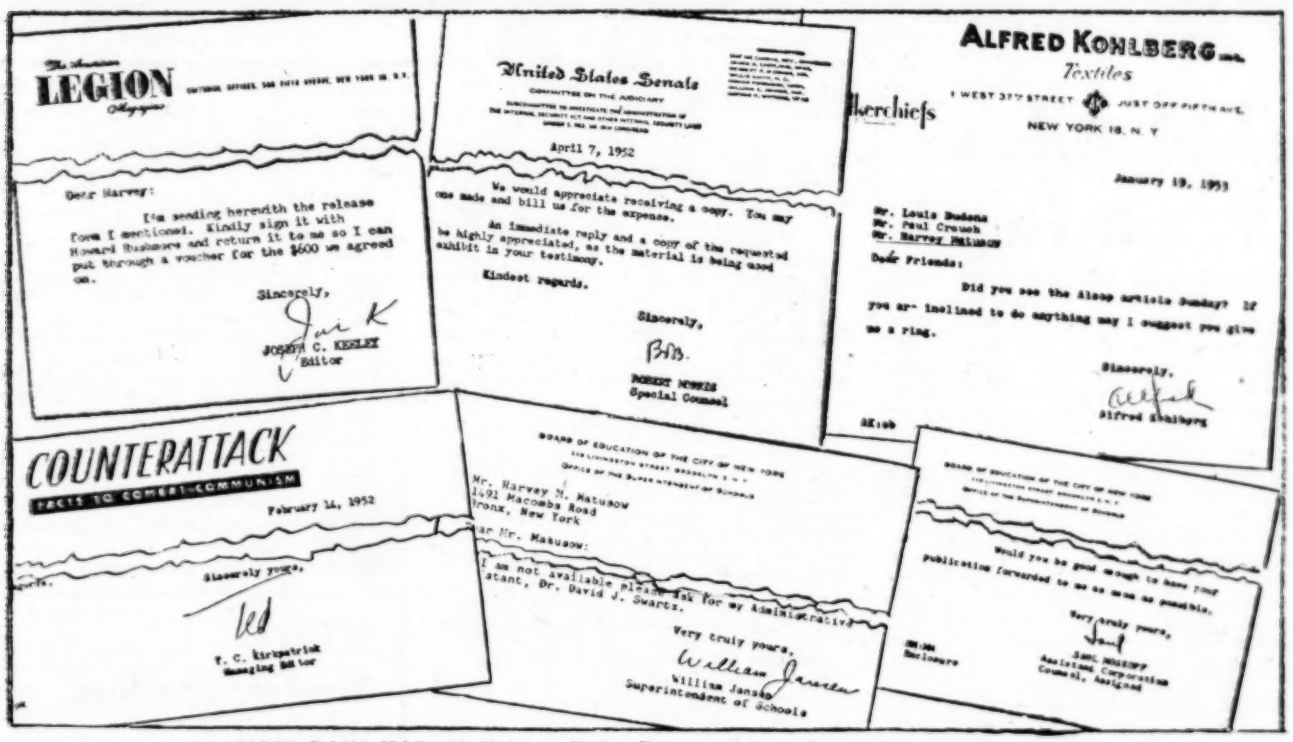
What made Harvey run?

By Cedric Belfrage

ALL over the world people are asking: What makes a Harvey Matusow run? The uncontested facts are that at 20 he joined the Communist Party; at 24 he started to become a professional informer; and now he is convulsing the mighty structure of the American witch-hunt by insisting, between wisecracks about stringless yo-yos, that his testimony which helped jail, deport and ruin hundreds of fellow-citizens was mainly lies. All this world-famous achievement in eight years by a young man who, as political parties to help smash unions that fight for their members and to cripple the people with suspicion and fear? Read Matusow's manual and make good this easy way.

Learn from the experts who coached him how to assassinate by innuendo; to "play my big cards one at a time—for if I didn't, my life as a witness would be short"; to ensure nation-wide picture coverage by dramatically pointing at a victim present in the hearing room and shouting "That's him!" How at a dress rehearsal before a witch-hunt committee to "convince them I could get headlines for them, not me, [for] they were the backers of my show." How to "use the names of well-known people in the theatrical world to my advantage as a money-making witness," and the "line" for selling $24-a-year subscriptions to **Counterattack**: "You either buy it or you're betraying your country."

off, with New York City's School Supt. Jansen offering Matusow $25 a day to name "red" teachers (he knew of none, but who cared?), and Queens College pres. Dr. J. J. Theobald calling in person at his "garret" for "evidence" on three teachers he wanted to fire. Saul Moskoff, chief N.Y.C. school witch-hunter who was soon addressing him as "Dear Harvey" in letters signed "Saul," showed him the concealed recording devices in his inquisition room and a wall "mirror" that was really a pane of glass "so that suspected teachers could secretly be observed by their accusers."



IN THOSE DAYS HARVEY WAS A VERY POPULAR FELLOW WITH THE BIG SHOTS

This is a montage of letterheads and signatures of some of Matusow's correspondents, reproduced from documents which appear in "False Witness." Several other revealing photostats appear throughout the book.

few will deny, was born with all the personal equipment to live and die as obscure as the cigar-stand operator who sired him 28 years ago.

Since he is one of a handful of equally insignificant characters who starred in the most significant American drama of our times, his book **False Witness** pins him on history's pages as a devastating symbol. It is a conducted trip through a sewer which must be unreservedly recommended, both for its politico-social and psychological interest, to young and old, radical and tory, American and foreigner. Certainly it has a place in the bibliography of world radical movements in the century of the decline and fall of capitalism.

CAUGHT WITH THE GOODS: Its revelations leave witch-hunters on all levels standing before the populace like men carrying packages in both hands whose suspenders have snapped. Now they beg us to ask ourselves: If Matusow admits he's a liar, isn't he just as likely to be lying now?

The first answer is that in light of what we know about the witch-hunt from other sources, his story—accepting even the probability that color has been added here and there—is inherently believable and broadly documented. The second answer is that those who now try to discount his confession are the same partners in crime who enthroned him as a prophet of truth and light when he talked out of the other side of his face. Any way they want to have it, they are publicly discredited.

ROAD TO SUCCESS: **False Witness** is a "how to" book on the profession of informing. Do you want to be an expert on the Red Menace, sought after by Congress, the press, radio and TV, school boards, patrioteers and

"YOU'LL MAKE GOOD:" These and other basic techniques mastered, Matusow was equipped for a starter job at $300 a month with the Ohio state witch-hunters—doing a little provocateur work in peace committees, and co-operating with the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers (CIO) to smash the "red" UE. Roy Cohn, signing him up to give key "force and violence" testimoney in the second Communist leaders' trial in New York, said: "I think you'll make as good a witness as Budenz." (Cohn "worked feverishly hard in getting me to memorize my lines so I would not miss a cue. This was not difficult for me. I loved play acting.")

Yet how could Matusow reach the top of his profession when Bentley, Philbrick, Chambers, Budenz & Co. had cornered all the good gimmicks? Finally the inspiration, after a chat with some Hearst newspapermen: he would have his own specialty, and it would be "youth." So he "revealed" that 3,500 students (a number he thought up on the spur of the moment) had been "recruited for red 5th column" and that "Reds use sex to lure members." Before the McCarran Committee (first rehearsing with the staff: "After each question was asked, we stopped and had an off-the-record discussion about what the best answer would be") he "bared red plot to infiltrate Boy Scouts."

THE DOCTOR CALLS: The gag paid . . .

And so, holding our noses but fascinated, we plunge on through the sewer over the bodies of some of the best Americans as Harvey works with Cohn on the "Aesopian language" theory, makes the grade with the George Sokolskys and Victor Rieselsand finally is asked by Dr. J. B. Matthews to autograph a coffee table beside the signatures of Dies, Velde and McCarthy.

JOE LOVES ME: "Everybody" now loves Harvey and treats him like a man of distinction: "I knew I was part of the inner circle." He has lied about New and Fair Dealers to get McCarthy re-elected, and on the victory night seen Joe "float to bed in a sea of bourbon." In the "Hawaiian Sun Room" of the mansion into which he has moved with his millionaire McCarthyite wife, Joe has put him through a melodramatic rehearsal for another "hearing" of lies. In campaigns financed by Kennecott Copper he has lied about the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers to "help conservative candidates in the whole Rocky Mountain area." He has seen the CIO support the lies to weaken Mine-Mill,

> ". . . but they didn't see the other side of the coin: their own candidates for political office were hurt. . . . One of the main reasons for the hearings [to show Mine-Mill as 'red-dominated'] was to help defeat candidates supported by the ADA."

To this reviewer, the least convincing element in Matusow's book is his expression of remorse. His often flippant narration suggests that he is not capable of understanding the full horror of what he has done; indeed, his chief feeling seems to be one of triumph that he has finally outsmarted the top smarties of the witch-hunt era, including the Great Joe himself, who dubbed him a "great American."

CLEARER AIR: Another informer—the kingpin of the profession in terms of gross income, Whittaker Chambers—has been described by top psychiatrists as a "classic example of the psychopathic personality." If Matusow is not quite that, at least it would take a similar expert to delve his inner motives in lying like a trooper for four years and then blowing the gaff.

Whatever he is, progressives cannot deny him gratitude for documenting as we could not the character and purpose of the witch-hunters, and thereby clearing the air more than any one person has been able to do in a decade. The effects are already startling: we find columnist Murray Kempton writing ("What Harvey Did," N.Y. **Post**, Mar. 9):

> ". . . In the last five years, it [domestic anti-communism] has become, when least malevolent, the flagellation of dead horses . . . a war on the weak and their children. . . . As an organized political group, the Communists have done nothing to damage our society a fraction as much as what their enemies have done in the name of defending us against subversion. The authors of this damage are named Harry Truman as well as Joe McCarthy. They are, if you please, you and I even to the extent that we simply kept quiet and rode with the times. . . .
>
> "The Smith Act trials rested on [a] proposition that . . . was nonsense on its face; and . . . we could not even prove that the defendants had uttered the key words which, as the myth had it, would have triggered the assault on City Hall without using witnesses like Matusow who were anxious to invent the quotations as needed."

Will others have the belated honesty to say what Kempton now says? Will Kempton go on to consider the broader and more frightful implications of the U.S. witch-hunt in the H-bomb age?

FALSE WITNESS, by Harvey Matusow. Cameron & Kahn, N. Y., 255 pp., $1.25.

The psychopathic personality

THE psychopath is typically selfish, ungrateful, narcissistic and exhibitionistic. He is egocentric, demanding much and giving little. Occupational application and efficiency are usually faulty; routine is intolerably irksome. . . . He demands immediate and instant gratification of his desires with no concern as to the feelings and interests of others. He is often plausible and talkative but absolutely unreliable. Frequently the only environment to which he can adjust is the one which he can dominate. Surprising irregularities of ability and inconsistencies of behavior are constantly demonstrated. . . . The psychopath lacks the ability empathically* to re-experience the situations of others or to feel himself into the social group. . . .

Pathological liars and swindlers . . . are usually good-natured, of agreeable manners, optimistic, of a light-hearted geniality, and make social contacts easily. These qualities and a ready tongue, self-confident manner, a frequently assumed dignity and a misleading appearance of knowledge readily enable them to convince the credulous as to their statements. . . . They spin remarkable tales as to their past experiences. . . . The extravagant and often apparently purposeless romancing related as facts by these psychopaths is known as *pseudologia phantastica*. . . .

Modern Clinical Psychiatry, by Arthur P. Noyes, M.D. (Saunders, Philadelphia, 1951).

* EMPATHY—Imaginative projection of one's own consciousness into another being.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Dew process

NATIONAL SECURITIES DEMAND THE DOWNFALL OF THAT NOSY NUDIST, THAT EM-BARASSING BUSYBODY, THAT ENEMY IN OUR MIST -
COUNT YOUR CHANGE! NO TESTIMONY RECTIFIED AFTER LEAVING THE EARTH -
I WILL SPEND THE PEOPLE'S MONEY LIKE WATER IN OPERATION RAIN-MAKER!
RAYON-MAKER? BUT WOOL IS IN THE EYE OF FASSION
NO, NOT REIN-MAKER TO CONTROL OUR STABLE OF WITNESSES - OR DO WE MAKE HIM REIGNING EMPEROR?
PRESS (& Adv.) Conference
WHO WAS THAT CLOUD I SEED YOU WITH -
THAT WASN'T NO CLOUD! THAT WAS AN ANGELIC FALL-OUT!

WALTER-McCARRAN

Capital parley

A NATIONAL Legislative Conference will meet in Washington, D. C., March 27, to urge public hearings on more than 45 bills now in Congress to revise the Walter-McCarran law. Under the sponsorship of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, delegations from 15 states will meet from 1 to 6 p.m. at the Odd Fellows Hall, 1849 9th St., N. W.

Last year 32 members of Congress sponsored the Lehman-Celler repeal, and 11 Congressmen backed the Ives-Javits bill for revision of the Walter-McCarran law, but no hearings were held.

"THE DUTCHMAN" DID BETTER

Father can't adopt wife's child because he's a Negro

A FEDERAL DISTRICT judge's recent decision, brought to the GUARDIAN's attention last week, was characterized by William L. Patterson, secy. of the Civil Rights Congress, as "more vicious than anything I have seen since Mr. Justice Taney's remarks in the Dred Scott case" (that a Negro has no rights a white man is bound to respect). The decision, dated Oct. 6, 1954, denied an application by a stepfather, John Rudder, to adopt his wife's five-year-old illegitimate child. The judge said that the boy "is a member of the household" and "ordinarily such an adoption should be not only approved but encouraged." But "two serious circumstances" persuaded him to deny the application: the parents had "refused to sign the loyalty declaration required of all tenants" in Federal housing projects and "an action to evict them is now pending," and

> ". . . the stepfather is a colored man while the mother and the boy are white people. This situation gives rise to a difficult social problem. The boy when he grows up might lose the social status of a white man. . . ."

EXPERT ON BEHAVIOR: Seeking some light on the judge who would make such a ruling, the GUARDIAN came up with these facts about Judge Alexander Holtzoff of the D. C. Federal Court:

• For about 20 years before he became a Federal judge, Holtzoff held a high post in the office of the Asst. Atty. General. He wrote Justice Dept. bills for submission to Congress and was a major legal adviser to the FBI, whose chief J. Edgar Hoover was his "close personal friend" of long standing in 1941 (letter quoted in **Congressional Record,** May 23, 1941). Hoover used him as a lecturer on "courtroom behavior" in his FBI Natl. Police Academy.

• Holtzoff tried to bar George W. Crockett as William L. Patterson's counsel when Patterson appeared in court in Jan., 1951, charged with contempt of Congress. Patterson had refused to produce CRC records demanded by the House Lobby Investigating Committee. Crockett told the jury the defense would show the issues in the case to be "two differing views on the color question, those of Patterson and those of Georgia Representative Henderson Lovelace Lanham." Investigating-committee chairman Lanham, during a colloquy over whether CRC was a lobbying body, had called Patterson a "God-damned black son of a bitch." Holtzoff retorted that he wouldn't permit "the so-called Negro question to be dragged into this case."

• When Washington "contact" man Henry (The Dutchman) Grunewald, accused of mass bribery in Washington, came before Holtzoff in June, 1953 for sentencing for contempt of Congress, Holtzoff let him off with a suspended jail sentence and a $1,000 fine. The press reported at the time that Holtzoff himself was on Grunewald's gift-list, but Rep. Kean, House Ways & Means Subcommittee chairman, told the N. Y. **Journal American** (6/11/53) that Holtzoff had escaped questioning although almost everyone on the list had been questioned. Kean, the paper said, was "shocked at the light sentence."

The parents in the adoption case are fighting Holtzoff's ruling. The Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C., is beginning to receive mail commenting on the ruling and the judge.

Matusow story

(Continued from Page 1)

and have deliberately shown contempt for this court by attempting to set aside the conviction heretofore had in this regard and obtain a new trial for Clinton E. Jencks. . . . Before sentencing you, however, I will give you a hearing in this regard and permit you to present evidence in your behalf if you desire to do so."

He set March 16 for the "sentencing" and whatever hearing Matusow might have. Contempt carries a five-year maximum sentence.

ATTORNEY OUSTED: The last turn of the screw came when the judge put Mine-Mill atty. Nathan Witt on the stand, and asked him if he was or had ever been a Communist. When the veteran labor lawyer declined to answer under the Fifth Amendment, Thomason barred him from the court, ruling:

> "Any lawyer who takes the witness stand and invokes the Fifth Amendment on the grounds that it might incriminate him cannot practice in my court."

THE STOPPER: Matusow told reporters in New York March 14: "If I have to go to jail to uphold my convictions,

Herblock in Washington Post

I'll go there proudly." But he indicated he would fight the contempt ruling:

> "If Judge Thompson had decided that I made a mockery of justice when I testified against Jencks and had granted Jencks a new trial, one might have understood his contempt citation. But to hold me in contempt now, when I am telling the truth, and to deny Jencks a new trial on the basis of that present truth is in my opinion improper. [He] has decided the issue without giving me the right of a trial by jury. His contempt judgement and his denial of a new trial for Jencks are surely questions which ultimately will have to be decided by a higher court.
>
> "If the recantation of false testimony is stopped by the threat of contempt, it may have the effect of perpetuating and compounding lies among government witnesses and informers."

THE NEW FORMULA: Government sources have admitted embarrassment over Matusow's confession. If they try him for perjury they must admit that his early testimony, used to convict numerous persons, was false; or else prove that he is lying now. Atty. Gen. Brownell has urged a new law authorizing perjury prosecution for conflicting testimony without the present necessity of determining which of a witness' two conflicting statements is the false one. On that point Matusow said:

> "What Brownell seeks in his proposed automatic perjury legislation, which effectively denies the possibility of recantation, has now been made available to him by a Federal judge's contempt formula."

Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn, publishers of Matusow's **False Witness** (both of whom have had to appear before grand juries and Congressional probe committees), last week wrote all Senators urging an investigation into Matusow's operations as a paid government witness and aide to Sen. McCarthy.

(Matusow's book reviewed: p. 3.)

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PROSSER, WASH.

I received and read the pamphlet "The Case of the Stubborn Editor" today. It is, I believe, the most revealing and important publication I have read in such a short form. It blows the so-called un-American Committee hearings apart for the lies and evils they really stand for.

With the Joe-Must-Go groups going on all over the country, people surely will see that Cedric Belfrage has been carrying the work forward that any and all Americans should have been doing.

Certainly it is the duty and pleasure of any true American to defend the Constitution and especially the First Amendment, the freedom of press, speech and assembly. Without these rights our America can become a slave camp for the people operated by a few greedy rulers who use their power and taxpayers' money to take the rights away from the people.

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•

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CLEAN-UP CAMPAIGN

Horror comic drive grows, but fails to hit publishers yet

OPPOSITION to "horror comics" is bustin' out all over; whether it will curb them remains to be seen. It ranges from a comic-book-burning planned by the Norwich, Conn., American Legion Auxiliary to a scholarly study by the University of California.

The University found that a billion comic books a year sell for about $100,000,000—more than is spent for textbooks in all schools and four times the book budget of all public libraries. The survey found comics are read by 25% of adult high school graduates, 16% of adult college graduates, 12% of the nation's teachers.

NO CURE: In Norwich 400 kids traded 5,000 comic books for 500 "good books" bought by the Legion auxiliary. The comics were piled in the city dump to await the torch but protests of censorship came from the American Book Publishers Councils, Inc., representing some of the nation's top publishers, and William McKenzie, retired Conn. State Police lieutenant who led a statewide crusade against comics several years ago. He said:

> "This drive is not the cure. Nobody ever got rid of anything by burning it. The problem must be attacked at the top echelon of the publishing business."

Meanwhile anti-comics crusader Dr. Frederic Wertham at a N.Y. hearing brandished a bull-whip he said he received through an ad in an "approved" comic. The industry's code administrator Thomas F. Murphy admitted such ads in 47 books now bearing his seal. He said he had ordered them discontinued.

NO BETTER: Sixth-grade comic-readers in Hamden, Conn., expressed "disillusionment" with the comics code in a letter to Murphy. They had gotten the signatures of 1,114 youngsters to a petition pledging them not to read anything but "approved" comics but found them, in the words of teacher Shirley Shay, "not much better than the books that appeared before the seal was designed." She expressed concern on the effect of love-story comics on sixth-grade girls entering adolescence.

Around the country a rash of local and state control bills have been introduced, but many are so vague they can be challenged on constitutional grounds. In **Seduction of the Innocent** Dr. Wertham describes how publishers work hard to get even laws with scrupulous legal construction disqualified on technicalities. The American Civil Lib-

erties Union says such laws are censorship but it favors "appropriate laws" which now curb obscene publications.

BRITISH SOLUTION: In Britain, a government-sponsored law so far unopposed in Commons provides a jury trial, four months in jail and a 100-pound fine for printing, publishing or selling

> ". . . any book, magazine or other like work which consists wholly or mainly of stories told in pictures . . . portraying (a) the commission of crimes; or (b) acts of violence or cruelty; or (c) incidents of a repulsive or horrible nature; in such a way that the work as a whole would tend to corrupt a child or a young person into whose hands it might fall."

Sponsors said it was drawn in such narrow terms to avoid being a civil liberties threat.

An example of damage done not to civil liberties but to children appeared in the torture and beating of a nine-year-old girl Feb. 18 in New York's Claremont Park by five boys, one nine and the others ten. They had tied her to a tree, ripped off her dress, beaten her with an iron pipe and a flashlight, slapped and kicked her and held a knife blade to her throat. The girl's cries attracted a passerby who, after freeing her, fled when the boys attacked him. Asked why they did it, a youngster replied: "I don't know." But comic books are filled with such scenes of torture.

Sign up a friend today for a GUARDIAN sub. Only $3 for 52 exciting issues.

AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS — VI

British West Africa: 35,000,000 free?

By W. E. B. DuBois

THE most extraordinary development in present-day Africa is the approaching independence of 35 million Negroes of British West Africa along what once was called the "slave coast."

The Gold Coast is the size of England with 4½ million Negroes, 4,000 British and 1,500 Asiatics. It is composed of the Ashanti people who fought off England in six wars; the Fanti people who in 1868 formed a liberal constitution for an autonomous state and had their leaders thrown in jail by the British. Britain has tried to force seven different constitutions on this colony in the last 100 years, each yielding a little more to self-rule.

Nigeria's 30 million people descend from the great state-building nations of the Sudan in the Middle Ages: the Haussa, Yoruba, Fulani and Ibo. Here lies the mouth of the great Niger River coming down from the centers of Negro culture in the 15th century. On the coast cities like Lagos, Benin and Port Harcourt developed modern culture, pushed by the profits of the slave trade. Here political organizations began in 1923 under the grandson of the first black West African bishop, Crowther. It was essentially a bourgeois capitalist movement, but it was soon displaced by younger men, and in 1938 Nnandi Azikiwe began to preach a reborn Africa. This developed into the celebrated Nigerian Youth Movement.

THE COCOA REBELLION: In these two colonies, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, West Coast culture in trade and art flourished in the medieval and modern world, and here the American slave trade entered. In both these colonies the British, failing of complete conquest, long tried to rule by indirect use of subsidized chiefs. The British and other Europeans made huge profits from cheap labor in palm oil, ground nuts and metals.

Then from Spanish Africa a native worker introduced the cocoa tree on the Gold Coast, and it became the greatest cocoa-raising center in the world. The British, Dutch and Americans tried to monopolize the profit on cocoa by a buyers' monopoly. The Negroes replied with a boycott which was so successful and left so many British laborers unemployed that a commission was sent out which strongly condemned the buyers' tactics.

The Second World War came, and the government took charge of cocoa buying. The British, who made profits of nearly $70 million, reneged on their promise to divide them with the producers and allotted only a small part to the Gold Coast. The result was open rebellion in 1948, during which black troops on the Coast refused to serve. The British fleet was ordered from Gibraltar, and looting and rioting over high prices of imported goods ensued. Negotiations between the British and the Gold Coast Negroes followed.

TOWARD INDEPENDENCE: In Nigeria the Youth Movement led to a London Conference and to a general strike of railroad and public workers' unions in 1945. A new constitution followed in 1947, and another one followed the strike of the coal miners and a national upsurge in 1949. There arose a demand for self-government by 1956.

On the Gold Coast after the uprising in 1948, several of the black leaders, including Kwame Nkrumah, were imprisoned and charged with "communism." But in 1951 Nkrumah was released and became leader of the new state. He was the son of a goldsmith, educated in the colony then in America and at the London School of Economics. As the leader of the "Convention Peoples Party," and although still haggling over technicalities, there seems to be no doubt but that he will be recognized as Prime Minister.

In Nigeria matters are more complicated because the British tried to set the more primitive tribes of the interior against the educated city groups on the coast. But this has not been successful, and Nigeria is only a step behind the Gold Coast in its readiness for recognition as an independent dominion.

NKRUMAH DISCUSSES THE GREAT VOLTA RIVER POWER PROJECT

(L. to r.) Cmdr. R. G. A. Jackson, British special commissioner for the project, Dr. Arthur Morgan, American hydro-electricity expert, and Dr. Nkrumah.

THE BIG BAMBOOZLE: Naturally the opposition to this development is strong, particularly in South Africa and in the new Central African Federation of the Rhodesias, allied with Kenya die-hards. It has been rumored that at the last moment the white dominion of South Africa will try to veto the admission of black African states in the British Commonwealth. The African leaders have said that in this case they will fight before they will yield.

The other attack is more complicated and subtle. West Africa will need capital. Particularly there is the matter of developing the water power of the great Volta River. There is a further question of regulation of the mines in both colonies. Capital is being offered from Britain and the U.S., but on conditions. The black leaders, especially on the Gold Coast, are moving carefully so as to avoid the smear of "communism." But the West African **Pilot**, published in Lagos, Nigeria, has recently said:

> "We know no more about Communism than what its American and British detractors have pushed across to us as propaganda. But judging from what we see and experience from day to day, we feel that all this talk of the so-called 'free world' and 'iron curtain' is a camouflage to fool and bamboozle colonial peoples. It is part and parcel of power politics into which we refuse to be drawn until we are free to choose which ideology suits us best.
>
> "For the time being, we shall judge every nation strictly on the merits of the attitude of that nation towards our national aspirations. We have every cause to be grateful to the Communists for their active interest in the fate of colonial peoples and for their constant denunciation of the evils of imperialism. It is then left to the so-called 'free' nations to convince us that they are more concerned about our welfare than the Communists, and in this regard we believe more in action than in mere words."

Next week: Congo—exploitation and "harmonious coexistence."

THIS IS THE BIG NEWS STORY OUT OF BONN

German people fight the army they don't want

By Kumar Goshal

REPUBLICAN politicians wanting to embarrass the Democrats threatened last week to embarrass the whole cold-war leadership when they pressed for publication of the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin talks at Yalta in 1945. At a time when rearmament of W. Germany as chief U.S. military ally in Europe is paramount for the cold-warriors, the wooing might be wrecked by bringing to German leaders' attention a transcript which

". . . contains several indiscreet comments about the Germans . . . various exchanges and toasts by the Big Three, some of them extremely informal and blunt in expressing the anti-German feeling of that last year of World War II" (Reston, N.Y. **Times**, 3/15).

GERMANY'S FOOT: As the Upper Houses of W. Germany and France

Deutsche Volkszeitung, W. Germany

"Armed robbery? Hell no! I'm just negotiating from strength."

prepared to discuss the W. German rearmament treaty, Washington strove to stem the great tide of opposition to "ranging all the mighty German race and nation with the free world" (Winston Churchill, 3/14). Throughout Europe there were "persistent demands for another try at negotiations with Moscow before the irrevocable step was taken" (**NYT**, 3/13).

In France, opposition broadened since Chancellor Adenauer's hint — which alone enabled him to push the rearmament treaty through W. Germany's Lower House — that the U.S. and Britain would stop supporting France's claim to economic control of the Saar once the treaty was signed. Only by sharing in the Saar's massive coal and steel production could France have equality of industrial potential with W. Germany. But the Adenauer government's attitude was summed up in the statement by one of its leaders, quoted in the French press:

"Germany has one foot in the Saar. And when Germany has put one foot somewhere, she does not withdraw it."

THE BIG PARADE: The biggest German rearmament story—still almost untold in the U.S.—is the extent of protest in W. Germany itself to the "frightful paradox of the victors of 1945 imposing on the citizens of Bonn an army they do not want" (**Le Monde**, Paris). The youth of W. Germany has been especially active. Last September the Friends of Nature (youth hostel) organizations declared themselves "determinedly opposed," and at the trade union youth congress delegates representing some 600,000 young workers opposed rearmament unanimously. In October the Central Committee of German Socialist Youth rejected rearmament. In November most W. German cities saw giant demonstrations: at one, war minister Theodor Blank was attacked by mutilated veterans with their crutches; at another, Gen. von Manteuffel was led away by police after trying for an hour to speak for rearmament.

Dozens of church leaders and hundreds of pastors have joined the fight. A manifesto by 200 Rhineland pastors warned the government that a proposed law to enlist minors contravened the constitution. On January 30 church, union and Socialist leaders, with top educators and former Adenauer cabinet member Dr. Heinemann, jammed St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt and launched the "Frankfurt Manifesto" with 500 signatures calling for rejection of the rearmament pact.

"A NEW SATURATION": The pro-Western Swiss paper **Journal de Geneve** found that "like a recuperating drug addict, the typical German is horrified at the thought of being forced to resume the hateful habit." The Frankfurt Manifesto has swept throughout W. Germany, with over 70% of voters in the Herford district alone signing it. In two recent public

Liberation, Paris

"I've seen that face somewhere before."

opinion polls, one conducted by Gallup, the results were called so "catastrophic" that they were suppressed; but it became known that at least 60% flatly opposed rearmament.

Anti-rearming demonstrations have grown in number and magnitude since the Jan. 15 Soviet proposals for free all-German elections as proposed last year by Britain's Anthony Eden. London's tory **Observer** said the proposals "created a new situation . . . futile and even dangerous to ignore."

Latest move by the Social Democrats to delay rearmament is a court challenge of the constitutionality of the Saar agreement, an integral part of the treaty. Total effect of the swelling protest was summed up by "Carolus" in **The Nation** (3/12):

"The Adenauer government, the most loyal ally of the State Dept., is disintegrating from within."

"WAR IS DOWNFALL": This month junior members of the Bavarian Trade Union Fedn. opened in Munich "an anti-rearmament exhibition . . . including giant photographs of war dead and bomb ruins [and] poster slogans proclaiming: 'Rearmament does not mean reunification but civil war' and 'War means downfall for all'" (**AP**).

W. German movie producers have taken their cue. Reporting on two "anti-war and almost pacifist [and] violently anti-Nazi" films just released in Bonn, Gaston Coblentz commented (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 3/14):

"The two pictures are of some interest from a political point of view. They reflect what important producers, directors and distributors believe will draw large audiences in this country at present."

As an example of art influencing life, **U.S. News** (3/18) reported that, when a new movie showed a shot of Hitler watching a parade,

". . . the Bonn audience laughed out loud. Hitler, in 1955, reminds moviegoers of Chaplin."

Get your 2c worth in against rearmed Germany

SEN. GEORGE, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has announced Mar. 28-29 for public hearings on the rearmament of West Germany. The GUARDIAN joins with C. B. Baldwin, natl. secy. of the Progressive Party, in urging all citizens and groups to write now to Sen. George, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., requesting time to speak against rearmament. If personal appearance is not possible, request permission to submit a statement for the record. American progressives except for Baldwin and the N.Y.-ALP, were caught asleep at the switch when the Formosa Treaty was under discussion. Silence means assent; voice your dissent NOW.

Bevan's ouster

(Continued from Page 1)

are still classics, to the War Office.

BEVAN'S PLUNGE: These three men, if they had had the courage, could have saved the party; but they preferred the sweets of office. Two other hopes of the Left remained, Bevan and Harold Wilson. Both finally took the plunge and resigned from the government in the spring of 1950. From that moment the Left in the Labour movement had to look to them for leadership, and slowly the opposition to the coalition in both home and foreign affairs crystallized around the Bevanites.

The general election of 1950 which reduced Labour's 200 majority to 4, and the election of 1951 which put the Tories in power, greatly strengthened the Bevanite influence. And at the Labour Party conference in 1952, backed by the vast majority of local Labour parties and a number of unions, the Bevanites secured acceptance of resolutions condemning the coalition policy. In particular, the conference went on record against German rearmament and for Great Power negotiations.

THE ATTACK: From that moment the right wing went into action. Gaitskell, the darling of the extreme Right, launched a furious attack on **Reynolds News**, the **New Statesman**, and **Tribune**, which with a combined 700,000 circulation had kept a left-wing policy alive against the 100 million circulation to the Right, and the millions reached by the coalition through the radio. **Reynolds News** was quickly forced into line by pressure on the right wing of the Co-operative movement who own the paper. The Bevanites, who had been holding regular group meetings, were forced to dissolve their organisation, although **Tribune**, their weekly journal, remained in being.

Bevan was in a majority in the country, as shown by his supporters' capture of six out of seven seats voted on by the local parties for the National Executive. But he was in a permanent minority among Labour MP's, because the right-wing National Executive has the final vote on Parliamentary candidates and left-wingers have been steadily excluded.

MISSING FOUNDATIONS: Bevan has made a series of moves to try and strengthen his position with the party outside the House. He resigned his government job because he said the national economy could not carry the full weight of the arms program. But he did not oppose the program itself. Later Churchill accepted his thesis, and slashed the program.

He resigned from the Executive of the Parliamentary Party to protest against Washington's suggestion that British troops be sent to Indo-China, but he did not oppose the Malaya war.

Now he has challenged the Attlee-Churchill coalition's claim that Britain should drop H-bombs even if not attacked with H-bombs; but he does not oppose acceptance of H-bomb strategy.

The weakness of Bevan's position is that he has opposed the results of policies rather than policies themselves. His group has split on this issue because it has never had any firm ideological basis.

GATHERING SUPPORT: Now the issue has been joined. Bevan's weakness serves to underline the complete bankruptcy of his right-wing opponents. The Gaitskell-Morrison group, who have forced a reluctant Attlee into line, rely on an automatic majority and an emotional appeal to "loyalty." They cannot bring out the anti-Communist hysteria against Bevan, because in the past he has been as anti-Communist as any.

But because Bevan has typified the revolt against Attlee-Edenism in foreign affairs and Butskellism at home (the **Economist**'s term for Gaitskell's coalition with Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler), he will gather increasing support from the rank and file. The delay in holding the expulsion meeting, because of his illness, enabled some of the most important Labour parties—Birmingham and Manchester among them—to rally to his support. He has the right to appeal his expulsion to the party conference, and because the trade union vote is decisive, every union conference this summer will discuss whether to support him or the Executive.

THE MACHINE: Vicky, the **Daily Mirror** cartoonist (who is far more progressive than his paper), put the matter in a nutshell when he showed the Tory press as a vulture on a tree urging a worker typifying the Labour Party to stab himself to death. The split will mean electoral suicide for the party, and the Tories may well call an election to cash in at once.

Yet a Labour government drawn from the extreme Right would be just as disastrous. The battle must be fought out if the Labour movement as a progressive force is to survive at all.

The right wing's strength lies in its possession of an electoral machine, and in the British electoral system which eliminates all but two main parties. If there were proportional voting the Bevanites could put up candidates and challenge the right-wingers at the polls. But in scores of constituencies this would mean letting in the Tory, and therefore the average Labour voter resents candidates who "split the vote."

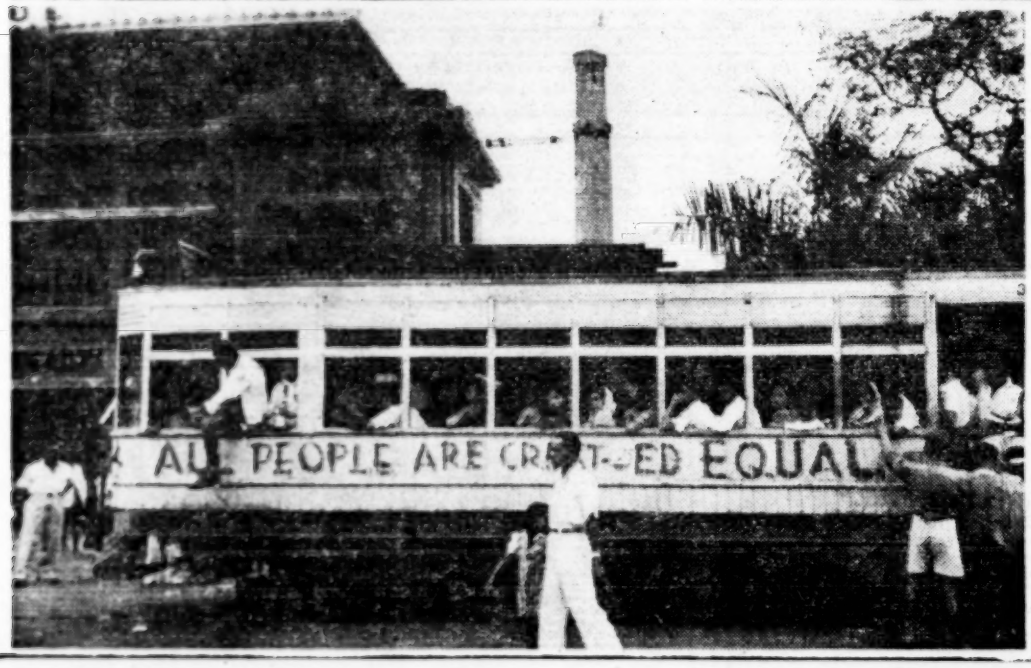
The Communists face this same dilemma when they put up candidates. Often Communist candidates have had the most enthusiastic meetings of an election but got only a handful of votes because electors feared to put the Tory in. The leaders of the Labour-Tory coalition will preserve this system at all costs, for it is the source of their power—just as in the U.S. the system is organised to prevent any real challenge to the Republocrat coalition.

THE PEOPLE MOVE: So apart from seats where prominent Bevanites will fight official Labour if they are expelled, the battle will go on within the Labour Party. In local Labour parties, trade unions and co-operatives there will be moves to mobilize support for Bevan before the annual conference. (The leaders of the two most right-wing unions will have answered that threat in advance by adding 400,000 to their voting strength—by the simple process of paying a bigger affiliation fee to the Labour Party.)

But the struggle is not just between Bevanites and anti-Bevanites. The British people are moving into action on a much broader front. The Gravesend election, fought by Sir Richard Acland on the H-bomb, will focus public attention on the real issue. The British Peace Committee is calling on Sunday, March 20, a demonstration in Trafalgar Square which may be one of the biggest in history. The campaign for the Helsinki Peace Assembly is drawing into the struggle for peace many who are disheartened by the Labour Party quarrel.

Just as the Lobby Day to protest German rearmament broke through the Tory-Labour coalition, so their coalition on H-bomb warfare is being broken not only by a struggle within the Labour Party but by a drive of the people far wider than any political decision.

'Family of man'



THE DEMOCRATIC camera, unselfconsciously honest, brings us humor, pathos and grandeur from 68 countries, from childbirth to death, from the farthest past to the immediate future. This is the remarkable "Family of Man" exhibition at the N.Y. Museum of Modern Art, Fifth Av. and 53d St., running to May 5.

Through the Mt. Wilson telescope we see a star cloud where worlds are born. Hundreds of pictures later we come to the hydrogen bomb. And there, in a cycle of fine portraits from around the world, each is shown his own face in a mirror as a reminder that "the bell . . . tolls for thee."

A bit of the gaiety, the struggle for "the dignity of man" to which the exhibition is dedicated, and of mother love are shown here. The piping boy (above left) is from Peru, the trolley-car (left) is from Indonesia and the mother and child (above right) from the Arctic.

GWINN LAW

Test is near on loyalty oath for tenants

COURTS of Illinois and California have recently ruled that loyalty oaths for tenants in public housing are illegal. But whether such oaths are permissible under the U.S. Constitutiion is still in doubt. Under a rider attached to a 1952 Congressional appropriations bill (known as the Gwinn Amendment after its sponsor Rep. Ralph Gwinn, R-N.Y.), tenants are required to swear they are not members of organizations deemed "subversive" by the U.S. Attorney General. The appropriations act expired last year, but the amendment became part of the National Housing Act and is presumed still in effect.

The Illinois Supreme Court ruled that the Chicago Housing Authority had no right to enforce the oath, since it had no relation to the purpose for which the authority was formed—to end slums and provide low-rent housing. The court also ruled a similar Illinois state law unconstitutional. In Los Angeles the Appellate Dept. of the State Superior Court said the Gwinn amendment was unconstitutional.

HIGH COURT TEST: The big test may come in the U.S. Supreme Court in **Rudder v. U.S.**, the case of a D.C. public housing tenant who refused to sign the oath. A lower court upheld his eviction, which is now before the U.S. Court of Appeals. **(See story, p. 4.)**

The American Civil Liberties Union, which brought the Illinois suit, is acting as a "friend of the court" in the Washington case (it filed a brief March 5) and several others. They contend that the oath violates freedom of association.

THE SEDITION FRAME-UP

Bown was in Milwaukee night of Louisville bombing

By Ione Kramer

VERNON BOWN learned about Andrew Wade by reading the Sunday paper. He did not know Wade, but had met Carl Braden, who helped Wade, a Negro, buy his house in an all-white Louisville suburb. Bown said:

"I went right out to Wade's because I thought the more white people that went there the better—they might get more support from their neighbors."

Shortly thereafter Bown was in jail facing trial on charges of blowing up Wade's house, "conspiracy" to do so and "sedition." The penalties could total 31 years in prison. Now free in $10,000 bail—after five months in jail—Bown was in N.Y. Mar. 8, planning speeches on the Louisville case before union and other groups.

Bown was freed Feb. 19 after his bail had been lowered from $23,000. Professional bondsmen, under pressure from Commonwealth Attorney A. Scott Hamilton, had refused to put up a bond; but Henry A. Hines, a Negro, put up his rooming house. Hamilton raised the specter of Bown running away, but Hines remained undeterred.

DAY-TIME GUARD: Bown fought with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain, later worked in factories in his native Wisconsin. He served in the Merchant Marine in World War II, stayed with ships, became a functionary for the Natl. Maritime Union. He moved to Louisville five years ago.

Soft-spoken, unassuming and seldom smiling, Bown related his part in the Louisville case. He wouldn't talk about humanitarianism, but his eyes were eloquent with the feeling that motivated him to help Wade.

Driving a truck nights Bown had been unable to be active in the defense committee formed after a fiery cross was burned near Wades' house; but he offered to guard the house during the day. The police had withdrawn their daytime guard and Wade did not want his pregnant wife and their three-year-old daughter to be alone while he was at his electrical shop. So Bown moved out to the Wades'.

FAR, FAR AWAY: On the night of the bombing, June 26-27, Bown was in Milwaukee, visiting his sister on his way to a family reunion in Spooner, Wis. He had left Louisville after work at 1 a.m. Saturday, June 26, more than 24 hours before the bomb exploded.

With parts of a radio they claimed was his, the state charged that Bown set the bomb. But explosives experts have testified that this is impossible. Bown's lawyers are planning to take statements from his sister and other friends in Milwaukee, and produce his registration in a motel outside that city.

Bown said he told Hamilton of his whereabouts and Hamilton indicated he would not try Bown on the bombing charge first, but on either the charge of "sedition" "or conspiracy" to blow up the house for political reasons. Bown said the prosecutor knew he could not make the bombing charge stand up.

VERNON BOWN
He wanted to help

I. O. FORD'S PLIGHT: In a trial on either of the two indictments, Bown predicted his books and those of his roommate and co-defendant I. O. Ford would figure prominently, as they did at Carl Braden's trial. Searching the apartment while Bown and Ford were in jail, police confiscated all their books. Ford, a retired riverboatman approaching 80, apparently was arrested only for the literature he possessed; he was later indicted for sedition.

Unable to raise $10,000 bail, Ford has been in jail since September. He is now in the jail hospital, Bown said, eating a starchy diet which is bad for his weak heart. Attempts are being made to reduce his bond or to get him out without bail.

The defense is also trying to reduce the $40,000 appeal bond set for Carl Braden, in the La Grange State Penitentiary, who was sentenced to 15 years.

FOR OTHERS, $200: Bown said three of Wade's neighbors, who admitted to a grand jury last September that they burned the cross near Wade's home, were arrested Feb. 25 on complaints sworn out by Wade. They are free in $200 bond each.

Bown's own union, the AFL teamsters, has quietly dropped him but has not attacked him, he said. But both Negro and white former fellow-workers have expressed their concern and a trade union committee is circulating a pamphlet in his behalf. Among the white people of Louisville there was still hesitation, he said, but "there's no doubt in the minds of the Negro people that this is a frameup."

THE SMITH ACT SCORE

5 victims 'free', Potash in Poland; 22 await trial; Lightfoot case vital

SIX of the 11 Communist Party leaders convicted in 1949 under the Smith Act's "conspiracy" section were released from Federal prisons March 1: Benjamin J. Davis, Terre Haute; Eugene Dennis and John Gates, Atlanta; Jack Stachel and John Williamson, Danbury; Carl Winter, Leavenworth. "Good behavior" shortened the five-year sentences to 40 months.

All except Davis were immediately re-arrested under another section of the same Act which makes "membership" a crime, but were freed on $5,000 bail each. Davis was taken to the Pittsburgh County jail to start a 60-day sentence for "contempt" when, as a witness in the Pittsburgh Smith Act trial, he refused to give names demanded by the prosecution.

THE SECOND GROUP: Russian-born Irving Potash was released last summer and, the Polish government having agreed to accept him, he departed Feb. 25. Of the four who failed to appear for sentencing and became the first "Smith Act refugees," Gus Hall and Robert Thompson, who were captured and are now in Atlanta and Leavenworth, will not be released until 1957 and 1958 respectively; Gilbert Green and Henry Winston are still at liberty.

The second group of 13 CP leaders was convicted—also under the Act's "conspiracy" section—in January, 1953, and sentenced the following month to from one to five years and fined $2,000 to $6,000. The U.S. Court of Appeals last Oct. 14 upheld the convictions; appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court was rejected Jan. 10. Twelve defendants—Alexander Bittelman, George Blake Charney, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Betty Gannett, Arnold Johnson, V. J. Jerome, Claudia Jones, Albert F. Lannon, Jacob Mindel, Pettis Perry, Alexander Trachtenberg, and William Weinstone—are in Federal prisons. Louis Weinstock was sent to jail separately on a charge of perjury before the Subversive Activities Control Board.

ALL IS SAFE: Six Smith Act victims in Detroit got from four to five years and fines up to $10,000. Four of the five St. Louis defendants are serving five years; one, three years. Nine were convicted in Philadelphia. Ten in Cleveland and five in Denver await trial. Indictments against seven in Connecticut were dismissed Feb. 23 in Federal district court on the ground that the jury panel was illegally drawn, but they have been re-indicted. **The Nation** (2/26) summed up:

"The 'score' may now be adjusted to read as follows: of 104 persons indicted for conspiracy to violate provisions of the Smith Act since the decision in the Dennis case, 71 have been convicted and 3 acquitted. These figures, and the ascending graph, have been used by the 'statesmen' in Washington as an effective answer to the vagaries of Senator McCarthy. They are proof positive, it is said, that the country is 'safe.'"

The fate of those released and re-arrested hangs largely on the appeal of Illinois CP leader Claude Lightfoot to the U.S. Supreme Court from conviction under the Smith Act's "membership" section.

Peace Pilgrim on the road again

PEACE PILGRIM began her first "coast to coast and border to border" walk from California in Jan., 1953, and finished on Christmas, 1953, in New York (GUARDIAN, 1/11/54). Recently she wrote from Tucson, Ariz.:

"Dear Friends of Peace: I'm on a pilgrimage again, and the heart of the world is with me! What I pray for and work for is the desire of every human heart, peace in the world and a good life for the world's children. At the New Year parade in the Los Angeles section I walked ahead along the line of march, talking to people and handing out messages, and, as I passed, many clapped and cheered—for peace. About half way a policeman put his hand on my shoulder and I thought he was going to tell me to get off the line of march. Instead, he said, 'What we need is thousands like you.'

"I started my second 5,000 miles when I walked across the Golden Gate Bridge from San Francisco to Sacramento. This time I shall walk at least 100 miles in each state into the state capital. The end of January will find me walking from Tucson to Phoenix; the beginning of February I shall walk through Albuquerque to Santa Fe; the end of February, in Texas, and so on. My special prayer is for world disarmament and this is the second 5,000 miles for my disarmament petition. I continue to speak to thousands of people, singly, in groups, through newspapers, radio, television—giving the peace message, discussing peace within, emphasizing practice.

"My message remains: 'This is the way to peace. Overcome evil with good, and falsehood with truth, and hatred with love.' My vow remains: 'I shall be a wanderer until mankind has learned the way to peace, walking until I am given shelter, fasting until I am given food, using money given me to spread my message.' My personal prayer remains: 'Make me an instrument through which only truth can speak.'"

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Iran: The joys of U.S. aid

(A short story in four clips)

The School of Administration of the University of Teheran, which has been organized with the aid of American advisers, will begin its courses Jan. 24. The director will be Dr. Harry Marnow, former professor of the University of California, who will be assisted by seven other American professors. . . .

This morning Dr. Eqbal [former governor of Azerbaijan, known there as "the hangman of Tabriz"] began his new functions as director of Teheran University. . . . He said: ". . . The basis of my program is the re-establishment of absolute order and discipline. . . . I will see to it that the students give proof of their patriotism and their adoration of the Shah."

—**Ettelaat**, Teheran, Jan. 8.

In order to encourage the investment of foreign capital in Iran, the government will soon present a bill to the Majlis giving sufficient guarantees to foreign companies.

—**Farman**, Teheran, Jan. 10.

We learn from a military source that recently the Iranian government asked the U.S. government to send a larger number of its officers to Iran to assist the army in the task of modernization it has undertaken. The U.S. government has granted the demand of the Iranian government. . . .

—**Keyhan**, Teheran, Jan. 10.

The Military Court of Teheran yesterday condemned 11 officers to the following sentences: Maj. Vidafar, Capt. Madani, Capt. Ardacani to

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N. Y. Times, Feb. 8, '55

death; two Captains to life and six Lieutenants to 15 years' imprisonment [bringing the total of army officers condemned to death by the U.S.-backed Zahedi dictatorship to 68, of whom 21 have been executed].

—**Keyhan**, Teheran, Jan. 12.

Martin Hall to lecture for Guardian in L. A.

MARTIN HALL, well-known author and lecturer, will speak under the auspices of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN in a series of four Sunday evening lecture-discussions at the City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Drive, Los Angeles, 8:15 p.m. sharp. Single admission: 75c or a $3 new GUARDIAN sub. Admission for the series: $2. Dates and subjects are:

April 3: "News You Have Missed and Why."

April 17: "What Is Happening to the U.S.A."

May 1: "Are We Losing the World Leadership?"

May 15: "How to Understand the World We Live In."

CALENDAR

Chicago

SCOTT NEARING speaks on "Is Co-existence a Trojan Horse?" Fri., April 1, Rm. 833, Fine Arts Bldg., 410 S. Michigan Av., 8:15 p.m. Admission: $1.

Los Angeles

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Hear CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, national Negro leader, first person in U.S. history sentenced to prison for membership in a political party. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. Auspices: CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS of L.A. Admission: 50 cents.

WILLIAM REUBEN, author Natl. Guardian series "The Rosenberg Story," will speak under the auspices of the L.A. Comm. to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell on "The Foulest Hoax on the American People." Sun. evening, March 27, at the City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Drive.

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"ANTI-COMMUNIST PERIL OF WALDO FRANK," by James L. Brewer. 15c ppd. Pub. by New Christian Books, 95 Argyle St., Halifax, Nova Scotia.

BOOKS for ages 10 and up. **Folk Tales of India**, The Peacock Country, by P. A. Waring. Beautifully illustrated collection (only a limited number of copies). List Price: $3. Your Price: $1.50 ppd. **Great Negro Baseball Stars**, by A. S. Young. List Price: $2.50. Your Price: $1.50 ppd. Jack Foner, Box 576, Long Beach, N. Y.

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Call out for actors at Brighton center

A CALL went out last week to actors, actresses, stage technicians and those interested in learning theatre arts from the newly-formed "Theater on the Shore," attached to the Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn.

Casting for Chekhov's "The Boor" and Andreyev's "An Incident" is in progress. The group also plans classes for advanced and beginning student-actors and a Sunday morning class for children. For information call Jules Rothman, TR 3-0365.

Holy Trinity marks Whitman anniversary

MARKING the 100th anniversary of the publication of Walt Whitman's **Leaves of Grass**, Brooklyn's Holy Trinity Church (157 Montague St.) will offer a new play, **A Different Drum**, by Richard Davidson, produced by Folksay Theater, starring Will Geer, at 2:40 p.m. Sunday, March 20, in the church's gymnasium.

Also on the program will be an improvization of the Book of Job with Rex Ingram playing both God and the Devil. Admission is by card which can be obtained by writing the church office or calling in person. $1.25 contribution is asked.

What is a "communist"?

As a public service (or disservice?) we reprint below a section of a survey by LOOK magazine (Mar. 22, 1955) on what criteria some Americans use to label other Americans "communists."

"What do people think a Communist actually is? . . . 10% said they had known somebody they *thought* might be a Communist. And when these 10% were asked why they thought so, here are some typical answers:

"He was always talking about world peace."

"He would not attend church and talked against God."

"I suspected it from his conversation and manner. He was well educated and had a high disregard for the mentality of others."

"She distributed literature about the United Nations."

"Just his slant on community life and church work. He was not like us."

"I saw a map of Russia on a wall in his home."

"Didn't believe in the Bible. Talked about war."

"He brought a lot of foreign-looking people into his home."

"He had a foreign camera and took many pictures of New York bridges."

"He didn't believe in Christ, heaven or hell."

"I just know. But I wouldn't know how to say how I know."

"Very aggressive along certain lines. Wanted to be a leader but not interested in money."

The above might be considered laughable were it not so tragically true that the American press (including LOOK) with its millions in circulation is able to distort peoples' minds so they can think in the above fashion. The answer is to build and support papers like the GUARDIAN.

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ALBANY REPORT

The state of the Legislature as Apr. 2 adjournment nears

By Arthur Schutzer
Guardian legislative correspondent

UNLESS Gov. Harriman is too busy attacking freedom of the press (by barring the **Daily Worker** representative from off-the-record sessions) and floating trial balloons for the 1956 Democratic Presidential nomination, he might give attention to this legislative picture with adjournment scheduled for the week of April 2:

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE: Buried in committee are bills to increase benefits from $16 to $36 instead of the present $10 to $30; to grant additional dependency benefits and benefits to women for two months before, two months after childbirth; to extend coverage to agricultural labor; and to cover employers of one or more, instead of four or more, employes.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION: No effective action on bills to raise maximum rate from $36 to $45 and to grant dependency benefits.

CIVIL RIGHTS: Stalled in committee are bills to prohibit discrimination in all publicly-assisted housing (federal, state and city) regardless of when constructed; to authorize State Commission Against Discrimination to act on complaints filed by organizations, instead of limiting complaints to the individual affected; to repeal the Feinberg Law; to prohibit unlawful search, seizure and wire-tapping. The special legislative committee on wire-tapping may not submit a final report until next year.

N.Y. Herald Tribune
"Washington didn't sleep there. That's our public school."

COMPULSORY AUTO INSURANCE: Buried in committee. Last year, it was passed by the Assembly, blocked in the Senate.

EDUCATION: Pigeonholed are bills authorizing a state bond issue for school construction; emergency appropriations for more state aid to education.

ELECTIONS: No action on bills to make mandatory permanent personal registration state-wide; to make mandatory the direct election of district leaders; to allow six more weeks for collection of petition signatures; to repeal the Travia law which cripples independent political action against entrenched machines.

RENT CONTROL: The Democratic legislators have been loudly silent on this issue. Instead of a real fight for effective control, Harriman and his legislative leaders are eagerly settling for crumbs handed out by the callous Republican stooges for the real estate interests. Meanwhile, Harriman's proposed cut of $200,000 in the State Rent Control Commission budget still stands.

BUDGET: Despite all the sham "battle" between Harriman and the Republican majority, Harriman has failed to press for revision of the state income tax structure. The present maximum is 7%. It should be changed to 10% on a graduated scale, to make upper-bracket taxpayers carry a fairer share of the tax burden.

A series of special messages from the Governor to the Legislature would help focus public pressure for action on these issues. The next few weeks will tell the story. Meanwhile, on March 15 the powerful Assembly Rules Committee took over all bills left in standing committees.

NEW YORK

GOP still aims at rent grab

THE real estate lobby and the Republican legislators seemed to be retreating to previously prepared positions of defense from which to snipe at rent controls.

The Republicans originally proposed to blow the lid off rents by making it possible for landlords to pass on expenses to the tenants, and by lifting all controls over two-family houses in which the landlord occupies one apartment. When tenants, organized and unorganized, made their protest vocal, the GOP retired.

CURRAN & WAGNER: Manhattan GOP leader Thomas J. Curran bucked his fellow party members in Albany on the issue, deftly seeking to turn aside the wrath of picket lines set up by tenant groups at GOP headquarters.

Mayor Wagner also hopped the bandwagon in the city against the GOP proposals. He said that if the state abandoned rent controls the city would pass its own control legislation. The Mayor's promise seemed a grand-stand play. As long as the state Legislature keeps even the semblance of rent control on the books (and there has been no move to formally wipe it off), the city can pass no legislation altering it.

FOOTBALLING: At the height of the storm the GOP legislative bloc said it would reconsider the whole matter. One Republican suggestion was to take the Mayor at his word and turn controls over to the city. Barney Rosenstein, chairman of the N.Y. City Lawyers Guild Rent Control Committee and former head of the city's rent enforcement office under the OPA, recalled the "none too happy" experiences with city controls in 1947. He said:

"Rents increased tremendously and there was so much pressure from the real estate interests that various people on the city commission resigned. The chairman, Paul Ross, had to resign. It became a political football."

UPSTATE TARGET: In their renewed deliberations on the problem, the Republican legislators said they might leave N.Y. City controls as is or perhaps tightened, but relax controls upstate.

Even in N.Y. under existing law the formula by which a landlord can jack up earnings to 8% of the property's value could mean increases as the value goes up.

LOBBY PRICE: Pending before the Legislature is a bill authorizing the city to raise real estate taxes by ¼ of 1%. The real estate lobby may seek to defeat that bill as the price of a compromise on rent control. Or it may claim that any such boost will boost the property's value, thereby raising the allowable rents.

24 artists exhibit at Art of Today

TWENTY-FOUR artists are showing their works in an unusual exhibition at the Art of Today Gallery, in the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St., through March 31. Diverging in styles, these artists "attempt in their work to grapple pictorially with the human subject and humanistic values."

Among the artists are Chas. White, Alice Neal, Ed Strickland, Walter Williams, Sadie Van Veen and Edward Melcarth. The gallery is open 12 to 5 p.m. daily (9 p.m. Fridays); it is closed Sundays.

Jenny Wells Vincent,
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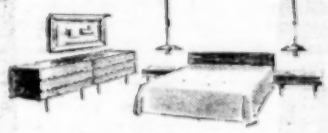

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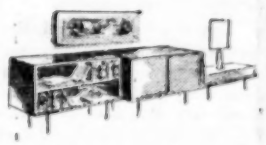

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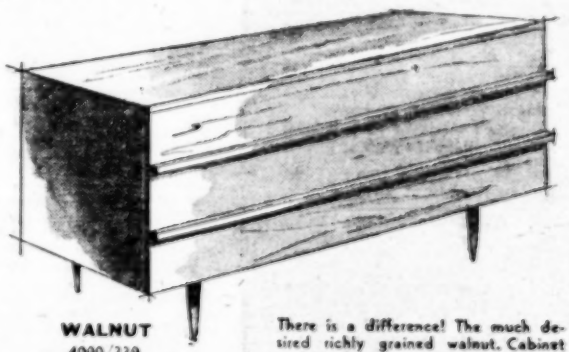

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

THE CONTEMPORARY FORUM
206 W. 15th St. WA 4-5524
announces two major courses
HIGHLIGHTS OF WESTERN ART
Lectures, illustrated with color slides. Lecturer: **Alice Dunham** (Mrs. Barrows Dunham). Six Thursday evenings, 8:30-10 p.m.
Mar. 24: "The Medieval Mode — Unity Among the Arts."
Mar. 31: "The New Vision in Italy —Giotto to Michelangelo."
(No session April 7)
Apr. 14: "New Vision in Northern Europe: the Van Eycks."
Apr. 21: "Light and Color in Venice —Titian and Tintoretto."
Apr. 28: "Light and Color in France —Manet & the Impressionists."
May 5: "Contemporary Kaleidoscope."

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Mrs. Barrows Dunham has lectured extensively at Philadelphia Museum of Art, at Temple University, and has had frequent exhibitions of her painting in Philadelphia.

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Tuition: $5 for course of six sessions (or $1 per session).

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SEMINAR IN CLASSICS OF PHILOSOPHY
Conducted by Dr. Barrows Dunham, author of "Man Against Myth," and "Giant in Chains."
Seven Thursday evenings, 7:30-9:30, beginning March 24 (no session April 7).
The course is limited to 25 members, and will deal with Descartes, Locke, Kant and Engels.
Course Tuition Fee: $15, payable in advance. Early res. advisable.

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OVER FORMOSA?
WHICH PATH FOR AMERICA?

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Friday, April 1 — 8:30
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Author: "Peking Diary"; 10 yrs. in China (both regimes). Prof. of Chinese, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

•

MISS TSENG PAO-SWEN
Chinese Nationalist UN Delegate; Member, UN Commission on Status of Women; National Assembly Representative (Formosa); Educator.

•

JULIAN SCHUMAN
Newspaper & Radio Correspondent; 6 yrs. in China (both regimes); Chicago Sun-Times, ABC Network.

•

ROBERT W. GILMORE
Head, American Friends Service Comm., N. Y. (Quakers); Formerly at Yale, U. of Pittsburgh, etc.

•

Questions; Refreshments
YORKVILLE TEMPLE, 157 E. 86 St.
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Guardian Theater Night. **"ONCE OVER LIGHTLY,"** by IRA WALLACH, RONNIE GRAHAM & MEL BROOKS. Music by ALEC TEMPLETON with **SONA OSATO, JACK GILFORD & ZERO MOSTEL** Thurs., March 31. Orch. $6.50, Mezz. $5. Call or write: 17 Murray St. WO 4-3960.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"DIEU A BESOIN DES HOMMES"** (God Needs Men), March 18-20. Venice Grand Prize Winner and endorsed by Protestant and Catholic film councils, this tale of hardy Breton fisherfolk is both frankly pagan and deeply pious. Magnificent photography, fine direction by Jean Delannoy, and Pierre Fresnay as the star. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1, non-members, $1.25. Next wk.: "LA GRAND ILLUSION."

N. Y. MANDOLIN SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, Samuel Firstman, conducting; guest artist, Nadyne Brewer, soprano. 31st Annual Concert. Music by Haydn, Brahms, Bizet, Tchaikovsky. Sat., March 26, 8:30 p.m., Town Hall (43d St., e. of B'way) Tickets: $1.25 to $2 at box office.

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WHITMAN CENTENNIAL OBSERVANCE this Sun., March 20, Church of the Holy Trinity, Montague & Clinton Sts., Boro Hall, B'klyn; 11 a.m. Address by Rev. Wm. H. Melish, "The Defiant Centaur."; 2:30 p.m. Folksay Theater preview of Richard Davidson's new play, "A Different Drum: The Trial of Walt Whitman," with Will Geer; preceded by "A Share-Cropper's Version of the Book of Job," with Rex Ingram; Holy Trinity Gym, 157 Montague St. Admission by voluntary contribution; reservations call MA 4-3050 today.

FORUM: "Formosa and the World Situation," Sun., March 20, 8:30 p.m. Speaker recently returned from China. Hear first hand observations. Refreshments. Contr. 50c. ALP Club, 7th A.D., 2688 B'way (103d St.)

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THIS SUN., MAR. 20, 8:15 P.M. Forum: "Fever in the Stock Market —Is a Crash Coming?" Speaker: Carl Marzani, economist, Oxford graduate, Rhodes scholar, formerly NYU faculty. At ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Contr. 60c.

SUNDAY FORUM, March 27, 8 p.m. "Automation: Menace or Promise?" Machines and Unemployment in the Capitalist Drive for Maximum Profits. With Carl Marzani and Victor Perlo, Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

"THE MATUSOW CASE," speaker: Art Sharon, 116 University Pl., Frl., March 25, 8:15 p.m. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. Contr. 25c.

SUNDAY FORUM, March 20, 8 p.m. "Tilting at Windmills: 1605-1955." The Meaning of Don Quixote, in Observance of the 350th Anniversary of Cervantes' classic, with Albert Prago. Dr. Francine Bradley, chairman. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

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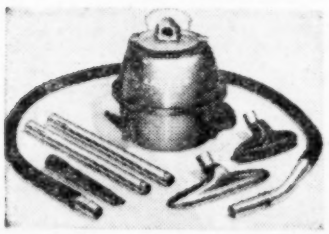

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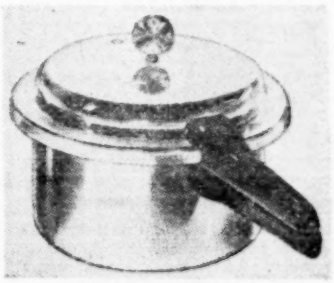

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the SPECTATOR

Josephine Baker off-stage

"Unimportant Info: Newspapers report 'Josephine Baker has decided to retire from the stage.' (That's like a champ giving up his title after the Count of Ten.)" WALTER WINCHELL

JOSEPHINE BAKER, perhaps the most famous American in Europe for the past quarter of a century, was back in her native land last month. She passed through New York en route to Central and South America on her own goodwill mission, shortly before Vice President Nixon went south to shake the satellite dictators' hands. She was forbidden to leave the airliner at Idlewild airport.

After 27 years in Europe she had returned to the U. S. in 1951—a French citizen by marriage who had added to her laurels as an entertainer by heroic underground activity in the Nazi occupation of France. In the city of her birth she showed America a Josephine Baker of whom few had ever heard but whom the whole U. S. knows today. These excerpts from her talk at St. Louis' Kiel Auditorium on Feb. 3, 1951, indicate the reason why Winchell-type Americans hate her:

". . . Those in this audience who have felt discrimination know what I am talking about; those who understand human beings understand what I am talking about, too. The hate directed against the colored people here in St. Louis has always given me a sad feeling. I remember the horror of the E. St. Louis race riot when I was a little girl. . . . It impressed me so that here today, at the age of 45, I can still see myself standing on the west bank of the Mississippi looking over into E. St. Louis and watching the glow of the burning Negro homes lighting the sky. We children stood huddled together in bewilderment, not being able to understand the horrible madness of mob violence. . . . To me for years St. Louis represented a city of fear, humiliation, misery and terror—a city where, in the eyes of the white man, a Negro should know his place and had better stay in it. . . ."

HOME SWEET HOME: Traveling across America in '51, Miss Baker was told by a white man in Los Angeles' Biltmore Hotel grill: "I won't stay in the same room with niggers." Police to whom she complained said they couldn't arrest him but that she could make a "citizen's arrest." She did. So 45-year-old Texas salesman Fred Harlan paid a $100 fine.

She didn't win friends in the State Dept. when, at about the same time, she said Negro "good-will ambassadors" harmed themselves and their people when they told Europeans all was well with Negroes in the U.S.; and her public call to Detroit's police commissioner to prosecute two cops for beating Negro auto-worker Emmett Micou started a series of attacks by press and radio columnists.

Attacks on her increased after her public protest against the New York Stork Club's refusal to serve her on the night of Oct. 16, '51. Winchell, who witnessed the incident, promised the NAACP's Walter White to broadcast the facts with an "unequivocal repudiation" by Stork Club owner Sherman Billingsley, but on his Sunday night hookup said that though he was "appalled" at what happened to Miss Baker and her friends he was "equally appalled at their efforts to involve me in an incident in which I had no part."

GOODWILL, BAKER STYLE: Shortly after the Stork incident she rejected a $10,000-a-week offer from Peru, when asked not to mention U. S. jimcrow. Her answer—"The reason for my life is the struggle for peoples, black, yellow and red, who comprise three-fourths of the earth's population and who are ignored and humiliated by the white minority"—is concretely expanded in her newly-announced project. The reason for her retirement from the stage, she explains, is to give more time to her "world anti-racial discrimination" work. It includes caring for the seven children of seven different religions or nationalities she has adopted. Says a Baltimore **Afro-American** Paris correspondent:

"It is the aim of Miss Baker and her wealthy mate [Joe Bouillan, orchestra leader] to prove that people of all religions, races and colors can live together in brotherhood and harmony —if they are brought up in the proper environment. . . . She will bring back from Peru 5-month-old Emmanuelo and from Dakar, Senegal, 7-month-old Ganabou. They will join Ako, 2½, a Japanese; Teyuro, 1½, a Korean; Jarry, 1, a Finn; Jean Claude, 8 months, a French boy, and Moses, 6 months, a French-born Jew. . . . The basis of each child's education will be his own religion. Josephine has a full list of teachers of every faith represented in her international 'collection'—Buddhist, Protestant, Moslem, Catholic and Jewish. They all have volunteered for the experiment. . . . At 10 each child will go back to his native country for a 4-year readjustment period with his own countrymen in his own native surroundings. At 14 he will come back 'home' and will then decide whether he wants to stay in France or return to his native country."

The children will be reared on a 560-acre estate with a 25-room, 14th century castle. It is a subversive kind of goodwill mission compared with Nixon's, but perhaps a more effective one.

—Eugene Gordon